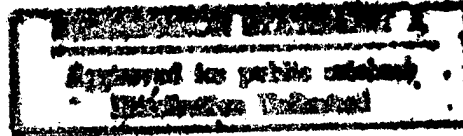


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# East Europe Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 2051

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1 September 1982

EAST EUROPE REPORT  
POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

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## ORIENTATION OF 'ZYCIE PARTII' UPON RESUMPTION OF PUBLICATION

Warsaw ZYCIE PARTII in Polish No 1, 3 Mar 82 p 1

[Newspaper's Policy Statement: "Toward Lasting Ties;" passages within slantlines in boldface]

[Text] We are returning to our readers--party activists and functionaries who perform social and staff functions in PZPR elements and echelons at a time of extremely difficult trial. We are meeting again after a nearly 3-month interval caused by the introduction of martial law during a critical and extremely complicated period of time for the country and for the party.

As a result of the decision to introduce martial law, the process of disintegration of the structures of the socialist state was halted and the near possibility of a bloody confrontation was eliminated. However, at the same time, martial law created only the chance of overcoming the crisis; it uncovered directions toward the stabilization and normalization of socioeconomic life. The significant statement made by the first secretary of the PZPR Central Committee, Gen Wojciech Jaruzelski, on the first day of fulfilling the role of commander of the Military Council of National Salvation [WRON] cannot be allowed to escape from view even for a moment: /"None of the problems facing Poland can be solved with force for an extended period of time."/

1. The finding of solutions to the most difficult problems and dilemmas must be facilitated by the joint, collective wisdom of the party acquired from the experiences of party activity and by overcoming conflicts which exist in the realities of contemporary life and which constitute the daily substance of the work of the basic elements and echelons of the PZPR. ZYCIE PARTII wishes to serve the presentation and exchange of these experiences now even more fully and extensively than before.

We understand this function of the publication to be not only the simple recording of important events from the life of the party. In starting over after the interval for the second time in the form of a biweekly publication and striving for a clearer outline of our profile, we wish to take on problems and controversies which appear within the process of consolidation and activation of party activity. We will be returning to basic questions which emerge especially now that there can be no return to politics without

working masses as was the case before August 1980 and to the state of chaos and anarchy from before 13 December 1981. If things are to be different from those preceding August 1980, if they are to be different from the stormy 16 months when we did not succeed in finding fully effective political solutions, then how are they to be? Let us seek common answers and let us share them in the columns of our publication.

2. Following the painful experiences of recent years and months, after the restorative process of party democratization which found its fullest expression at the Ninth Extraordinary PZPR Congress, the party is gathering its strength, continuing the processes of self-cleansing and self-determination and is beginning to unite its ranks. The process of the party's rebirth, of regaining social support and of the rebuilding of lasting ties through the expression of current and prospective interests of working people seems to be the main and definite direction. /The rebuilding of the party to be in the forefront of the workers class should currently be given primary rank and exposure./

The following question becomes current again: What should remain constant in relation to the changeability of the substance, methods and style of party activity? What was experienced, did not withstand the test of time or meet the demands of the realities of contemporary life and what ought to constitute constant values, the departure from which signifies the loss of ideological and organizational identity? The resolution of the Ninth Extraordinary PZPR Congress gave the proper answers in this regard but the post-Congress period produced new subject matter which must be taken up today in party discussions.

The force of the propaganda blow of the opponents of socialism has created havoc in the area of social awareness. As a result of this havoc, there arose in many communities as well as in some party circles the tendency to search for justification in programs of antisocialist opposition. Sowers of ideological confusion from among the loud "interpreters of Marxism" contributed to this confusion to a major degree. These were not extremists from Solidarity but "our own" theoreticians, who, in respectable publications, were the first to formulate postulates in our columns and [state] the need to drive the party out of work establishments.

The questions--what ought to be changeable and what ought to remain constant even during periods of great change--these questions expanded to encompass the experiences of recent months and the conclusions issuing from martial law have to be answered anew today. We are hoping that in this search for, and formulation of, answers, we will be energetically supported by our readers--party functionaries and activists.

3. Among the important tasks which will undertake in our columns, the following occupy the foreground: /the strengthening of ideological and organizational unity and consolidation of the PZPR on the basis of a definite return to Leninist fundamentals and principles of party life./ The party, in the light of the statute passed at the Ninth Congress does not demand total unanimity on all matters from its members. However, at the same time, today--

all the more under martial law conditions in which the maintaining of strict discipline and order is of major importance--there is a need for a party which is uniform in action, aggressive, strong from within and consistent in its undertakings. Under conditions where the presentation of a program of activity and the concentration of most of society around it becomes the most important issue, it is not the time for accounts which could divide the party. /Of major and vital importance is that which today should unite all party members in their activity on the difficult road of pulling the country out of the crisis./ It is, therefore, necessary to settle accounts all the more decisively and consistently with people who disrupt party unity and who propagate views and undertake activities which are the source of factionalism. There is a deep meaning to the statement that the /condition of effective party consolidation must be the consistent battle with the political opponent on the outside and with sowers of ideological havoc inside the party/.

One of the most crucial and extremely current issues today is the proper understanding of party consciousness as an attitude, as a form of leadership in the fulfillment of socialist principles and moral norms and as a way of being which distinguishes itself with modesty, honesty and courage to speak the truth and an uncompromising attitude toward wrong. This issue was formulated concisely by a party functionary in a letter written in January of this year [1982] to the Central Committee: "Not every decent person has to be a party member but every member of the party must be a decent person." The implementation of party consciousness as an expression of higher demands and more extensive reporting of the work results of the party Control Committee will be a theme which will appear frequently in our publication.

4. /The PZPR is not a party for itself but for the nation. This issues forth from its management role in the state and its leading role in society./ To acknowledge this role and to gain social trust is, above all, to have full awareness of all the conditions which have converged at present more so than in the past. In view of the high inflation of words, slogans, ideas and appeals which have multiplied in recent years; in view of the exposed deformations and degeneration; in the face of the lingering crisis and the necessity for the introduction of new prices which are causing the temporary lowering of the standard of living, it is not easy to break through distrust and to unite support.

The validating of the ideals of socialism anew constitutes a long range goal--undoubtedly, one to be counted not in months but in years. However, making credible in daily life that which is most holy in socialism--social justice felt directly and verifiable in community opinion--must become from this very moment, the first and foremost motto of action of every element and echelon. This motto is expressed by the postulate: /face the working people and their problems--large and small/. The statement that the key to the rebuilding of social confidence must be the effective undertaking of the daily issues which pervade work forces and other social communities and alleviating the drastic effects of the crisis is pertinent. Not loud words, but the patient building of bridges of understanding between all those who are not against us must dominate the style of party activity.

To undertake in the columns of our publication the above presented and new problems which will be formulated by the Seventh Plenum of the PZPR Central Committee in its resolution and to serve more effectively the exchange of experience in party work is to significantly expand the sphere of authors who will want to present their views, observations and reflections in our biweekly. We are undertaking new initiatives as a result of our endeavors to assemble a circle of corresponding party activists and functionaries around our editorial staff as a result of our intention to encourage the submission of opinions. One of such undertakings is the contest announced in this issue entitled, "Returning to the Sources." We are anticipating that together with other such undertakings by the editorial staff, this will become a significant step in the direction of holding an enlivened and constant dialogue by the editorial staff of our publication with its readers. /We are convinced that together with a broadly understood party aktiv, we will serve the process of party consolidation, the strengthening of the effectiveness of its operations and the rebuilding of its authoritative rank in society./

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## NEED FOR CONSOLIDATION URGED

Warsaw ZYCIE PARTII in Polish No 1, 3 Mar 82 p 2

[Text] On 15 February, a session of the PZPR Central Committee Intraparty Commission was held and chaired by the Political Bureau member and Central Committee Secretary, Wlodzimierz Mokrzyaszczak. The commission discussed the state of preparation for the Seventh Plenum of the PZPR Central Committee and familiarized itself with information concerning changes in the party makeup in recent months.

After becoming acquainted with the material presented by the Organization Department of the Central Committee and following a discussion, the commission concluded that favorable processes and occurrences are beginning to appear party organizations and echelons and that the activeness and importance of POP [Basic Party Organizations] activity is increasing. An expression of this activity is the undertaking by the organization for social and professional matters concerning work forces of issues resulting from the economic reform as well as the increasingly extensive involvement in the problems of one's own community. The process of ideological-political strengthening of the party is being carried out and the elimination from the party ranks of people who are ideologically foreign and who violate the principles of the statute and moral-ethical norms continues. The need for consolidation of the party on the basis of Marxism-Leninism was strongly emphasized in the discussion.

The elaboration and consistent use of new principles of cadre policy was proposed. Cadre policy must be fair and rational and be based on criteria of competence, professional preparation, organizational skills and high ideological and moral requirements.

The need for strengthening control over the implantation of resolutions undertaken by the party was also pointed out as an indispensable condition for increasing the effectiveness of the activity of all party elements and echelons.

The following took part in the discussion: Czeslaw Borowski, Jan Plociniczak, Artur Kwiatkowski, Jerzy Dabrowski, Aleksander Pajko, Marek Pabjan, Mieczyslaw Kaminski, Stanislaw Kalkus, Janusz Kubasiewicz, Franciszek Banko, Ryszard Kmiecak and Zbigniew Ciechan.



## NEED TO REGAIN SOCIETY'S CONFIDENCE NOTED

Warsaw ZYCIE PARTII in Polish No 1, 3 Mar 82 p 2

[Article by (b1): "We Never Divided the Work Force"]

[Text] "It is not true that the loud propaganda of Solidarity received the general acceptance and support of miners," says Comrade Stanislaw Wiatrowski, secretary of the PZPR Plant Committee at the Niwka-Modrzejow Hard Coal Mine. "In our coal mine, it was met from the very start with definite defiance while the arranged occurrences in the Sosnowiec Mine were met with outright opposition."

[Question] Was there division among the miners?

[Answer] "Yes, there was," states Comrade Stefan Korepta, a miner and member of the Executive Committee. "Many colleagues took part in the protests or strikes simply because they were steered by misconstrued comradeship, misconceived trade solidarity and also often in order to avoid harassment and being called names by Solidarity activists."

"The party cause, its main task," states Comrade Boguslaw Helwin, a shift foreman, "is to spread truth. This is, in my opinion, the basic condition for regaining social trust. The truth, though it may be the worst, is better than its concealment or its distortion. I should think that we have nothing to hide or to be ashamed of and that we settle matters which are painful and swollen out of proportions with consistency. Our society has already demonstrated on many occasions that during difficult times, it is capable of uniting and mobilizing itself. I feel that we are now experiencing such a period of social consolidation and mobilization. That is why the entire party and all of its members must be more aggressive in their activity."

"We have never divided the work force into party and non-party members, into members of a trade union or Solidarity members; we treated everyone alike and we acted and act alike toward everyone," states Comrade S. Wiatrowski. "Today as in the past, people come to us, to the committee, with matters which concern them, with their difficulties and problems. We try to help everyone within the scope of our capabilities. We are with the work force and its problems every day. For this reason, we did not have long work interruptions or strikes. The work force was and is one. That is why, during the most difficult moments, we did not note any breakdowns in the extraction of coal. I think that our [party members] rather significant contribution is also in this."

## DIRECTION OF PZPR UNDER MARTIAL LAW DISCUSSED

Warsaw ZYCIE PARTII in Polish No 1, 3 Mar 82 p 2

[Article by Ryszard Lukasiewicz, deputy director of the Organization Department of the PZPR Central Committee: "The Party is Reborn Through its Activity"; portions within slantlines in boldface]

[Text] /The introduction of martial law was an act of saving Poland and socialism. And that is why, despite the many difficulties which it introduced into daily life, this law is being met with understanding not only among our party members but also among millions of citizens concerned for the fate of the country. On the one hand, therefore, martial law is a necessity without which it would not have been possible to stop the process of antisocialist counterrevolution and the disintegration of the state and, on the other hand, martial law creates conditions for nationwide dialogue and understanding as well as for the consolidation and rebirth of the PZPR. The dependence is flatly proportional. The quicker the party unites its ranks on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and regains its strength and social trust, the faster the process of political normalization will take place, while the place of necessary administrative solutions will be occupied by political solutions./

Thus, the primary task of party organizations and echelons is to make use of the conditions which came into being after the introduction of martial law for the rebuilding of POP [Basic Party Organizations] activeness, their ideological and political identity and for the consolidation of party ranks on the basis of Marxism-Leninism.

#### Consolidation and Unity

Without internal consolidation, without the unequivocal rejection of and battle with views and activities which are harmful to party unity, it is difficult to talk about the restoration of the total effectiveness of party activity. /Only a party which is strong from within as a result of unanimity in respect to essential matters and as a result of unity action, can properly fulfill the leading role in society and a managing role in the state.

The dictate of unity in the PZPR which goes hand in hand with the strengthening of its Marxist-Leninist countenance is today a historical imperative. And it depends upon us whether the party will pass this test successfully./

In the name of unity and primary tasks which stand before the party within the scope of pulling the country out of the crisis, a decisive battle must be waged against decentralizing tendencies, against all activities which are discordant with the statute and with the exigencies of democratic centralism. Factional activity is impossible to reconcile with the principles of a party of the Marxist-Leninist type just as it is impossible to tolerate within its ranks opportunistic, capitulationist or conservative views which do not understand the logic of occurring processes and lead the party backward.

It is possible that this is not the time for profound analyses and historical squaring of accounts because time flies and every moment of constructive party activeness counts. However, we will not achieve this goal without discipline and unified action. In consolidating the party and cleansing its ranks for the sake of credibility, it is necessary to say at the same time that during the last 16 months not everyone was right, that many were mistaken and did not notice or minimized the seriousness of the threat from antisocialist forces and that many also contributed to the ideological, political and organizational weakening of the PZPR. These were, after all, regardless of the subjective intentions, none other than certain activists of so-called horizontal structures who negated the principle of the leading role of the party and of democratic centralism; they suggested the resignation by the PZPR from ideological and world outlook self-identity. The party was to be only a "sociopolitical movement" without more precisely defined criteria, without a clear structure and principles. It was, after all, these views and the activities inspired by them, like the journalism of some representatives of the ideological front, that weakened the party from within and facilitated its penetration by revisionist and abolitionary tendencies; it was revisionism as a lethal danger to the party which was condemned in the resolution of the Ninth Congress. In thus consolidating the party, it is our obligation to remember these things, not in the name of provocation, but for the sake of historical justice.

/The road to true consolidation of the party leads through the systematic overcoming of both opportunism and revisionism which bring with them the seeds of chaos, political and ideological confusion, the decline of the activeness of party organizations and the beginnings of dogmatic-sectarian views which objectively push the party toward social and political isolation and pull it backward./

Real consolidation of party ranks can take place on the basis of the conscientious observance of Leninist norms of party life, class evaluation of reality and the sources of the existing crisis. Its political foundation is the acceptance of the principle that in our country there is no returning to either the situation preceding 13 December, thus, to the tolerating of anarchy and the bolstering of antisocialist elements, or to the state of affairs from before August 1980, i.e., to voluntarism which had its origins in the

groundwork of opportunistic daydreams and ideological errors and which were expressed in theories about "developed socialist society," "moral and political unity" and a "nationwide party" and that there is no returning to bureaucratic deviation and autocratic governments. An issue which also has vital significance is the preservation in the party program of correct proportions between that which is universal in the building of socialism and that which is "specificity" in the sources of the crisis element as many journalists did before the Ninth Congress, not only does not serve the validity of evaluations but obliterates the true image and has negative implications of an ideological nature.

In consolidating the party, the principle of differentiated exigencies ought to be used in relation to party members depending on their class, strata and milieu affiliation. The purpose of undertakings cannot be the mechanical expulsion from the party of passive people but winning them over to the decisions of the Military Council for National Salvation [WRON], for the program of party rebirth upon the principles of Marxism-Leninism which are based on the ideals of social justice and a high degree of morality as well as the course of democratic sociopolitical and economic reforms initiated by the Ninth Congress. /The pulling in of people from all milieux for cooperation on the basis of the principles of the class character of our party, on the basis of the concepts of the rebirth of socialism and national rebirth--in the name of Poland's welfare--is becoming a strategic task of the PZPR. In this endeavor, communists must not lack patience./

In the evaluation of the attitude and activity of party members, the dominant criterion should be their attitude toward the present policies of the party and the state, toward the decision made by WRON and party tasks under martial law conditions. Thus, in the opinion of everyone, the deciding criterion is a member's present stand and activity. This does not mean that high criteria should not be used in ideological and political evaluation and exigencies in respect to the party apparatus, managerial cadres, the ideological front and intelligence, thus, areas on which particular responsibility rests on the party and society and on whose active and conscious commitment, the implementation of current tasks depends to a great degree.

In rebuilding the party today, it is important not to lose workers from its ranks--valuable workers who left under the pressure of the many-months-long and aggressive propaganda of Solidarity or who left in protest against attempts of "sociodemocratization" and "softening" of the PZPR--and to win them back into our ranks. Among these more than 180,000 workers who resigned from party membership, there are without a doubt many worthy of returning to the party; all the more so that the introduction of martial law halted the departure of workers from the party while the decisions made by WRON are gaining increasing support from the workers class. Confidence in WRON and personally in Comrade W. Jaruzelski is being expressed within this class.

Starting in July of 1981, our party has decreased by 550,000 members and on 15 February of this year [1982], it had 2,597,204 members and candidates. Of this number, 1.1 million is made up of workers (42.4 percent), 240,000 are peasants (9.3 percent), 930,000 are the intelligentsia (35.8 percent) and

326,000 are other socioprofessional groups (12.5 percent). The greatest drop in numbers occurred in the workers group. In relation to the total number of party members, the percent share of workers decreased from 46.4 percent to 42.4 percent.

There were many reasons for such a decrease in the number of party members, among which the leading cause appears to be the elimination from the party ranks of passive people and the procedure of turning in membership cards. It is worth shedding light here upon a certain point of view which is being spread in various milieux, namely, that after 13 December of last year [1981], the number of party membership cards turned in rose considerably. Indeed, facts did occur at certain academies and in communities of the creative intelligentsia. In general, however, the number of membership cards turned in does not depart from the "average" in previous months while among workers and peasants this amount decreased considerably. In comparison to the entire post-August period when leaving the party had "unilateral" character, what follows 13 December is the process of the planned cleansing of the party ranks carried out by POP and by party echelons and control commissions. As a result, within a period of over 2 months, approximately 85,000 persons were expelled from the PZPR and nearly 12,000 were barred. If we compare this with the facts in February and in May of 1981, approximately 28,000 party membership cards were turned in and that this was a "unilateral" occurrence, then the present situation also takes on a different qualitative as well as political dimension. This is the result of the conscious strengthening of the party and of parting with not only passive people but also those who are ideologically unstable, with opportunists and people not worthy of being called party member.

#### To Be in the Forefront

The fact that I placed the issue of party consolidation and unity in first place does not mean that I do not see the close link between the daily activity of POP and echelons and the regaining of position and strength by the entire party. Actually, it is difficult to separate one from the other. /The party can be reborn only through its activity, by means of even the smallest acts which are close to the hearts of people and accepted by various milieux. However, a party without an ideological compass and coherence, weighed down with the ballast of opportunism and passivity, torn apart by internal conflict is not capable of being a leader of the masses and consequently to take over political initiative./ And that is why, not because of doctrinairism but for the sake of essential order, I have taken this order of presenting the issues.

Martial law has not only created qualitatively new conditions of party activity but has also assigned new tasks for the party. Briefly speaking: It is necessary to work to organize society for the implementation of martial law in such a way as to have stability become a fact and the party be capable of preparing itself even today to undertake long-range matters.

During the past months, along with the progressing normalization of life in the country, the waning of an emotional atmosphere in work establishments and

in many communities, along with the freeing of the daily lives of work forces from the influence of the vexing antisocialist propaganda, party organizations are slowly regaining their activeness. However, this process is proceeding more slowly than we would like and more slowly than might have been expected. There are many causes for this state of affairs and they are not what I wish to discuss but to warn against one thing: The party had been ill for too long and had been attacked much too long for it to stand on its feet with full strength as if by command and in a matter of several months. And that is why, in sharing the dissatisfaction with the fact that the rebirth of party activeness is proceeding too slowly, I would at the same time like to call attention to a different fact, namely to the fact that increasing activeness is currently accompanied by the transformation of a historical switch in PZPR activity. In strengthening its ideological framework, the party is at the same time becoming an organization which is increasingly growing closer to the daily concerns of working people. A measurable expression of POP activeness understood in this way is the widescale undertaking of socioprofessional issues which concern work forces and the initiating of activity of social commissions and of plant teams for price structuring. Therefore, the major task of party organizations and echelons is to protect the primary interests of working people, to undertake such activities as would allow the disintegration of mistrust and the winning over of those who are confused as well as to confirm in practice the truth that the PZPR is not a party for itself but for the nation.

Party organizations must initiate the turning over of administrative premises for social purposes and they must look after the functioning of commerce and services in their area. Party organizations and echelons should be sensitive to every case which brings harm to citizens and should protect weaker people and those who have been wronged and have been unable to reach the authorities with their problems or whose voice was not adequately heard out.

The party must concern itself with, and control without delay, criteria pertaining to the social minimum; it must initiate state assistance for retirees, pensioners, young married couples, mothers raising their children alone and for students.

In social policy, the party must restore the proper role of the fund for collective consumption and place the development of mass transportation in cities and the development of protection for children under the auspices of the state.

#### In the Interest of the Masses

In the broad spectrum of nationwide issues, the activity of all echelons on behalf of effecting economic reform and stabilization requires particular consistency. The introduced reform should, in effect, intensify the socialist character of our economy by, on the one hand, increasing its effectiveness while, on the other, granting to the workers class the right of true participation in leading and managing. Putting the reform into effect under crisis conditions is a difficult process and requires party control on every level.

Party members should excel in their work; they should oppose the taking advantage of the reform for the purposes of particular enterprises and party organizations should inspire activity which serves efficiency, quality production and improvement.

Therefore, the task of the POP should be the constant analysis of the attitude of all party members toward professional work, its discipline and productiveness. Party members who make light of these elementary responsibilities must bear the consequences of the party as well.

If the party wishes to be credible and to conduct a social policy of realistic chances and possibilities, it must bear in mind that many people live in poverty while many others live beyond their means. The costs of the crisis ought to be distributed fairly. The directive of the Central Committee Secretariat in the matter of plant teams for the control of price regularity should also be seen in this context as well as the battle with the nouveau riche, with speculation and with social parasitism.

The introduction of martial law, without diminishing the statutory rights of party organizations and echelons, transferred most of the burden of undertaking current decisions--which is understandable--to the executive organs of echelons: executive committees and secretariats. This is regulated by the instruction of: "managing the party under conditions of threat to the safety of the state." The productiveness of activity, including that of the party as required by martial law makes it indispensable to abide by this instruction.

In characterizing the tasks of the party under martial law conditions, it is impossible to point out all of them. In presenting this issue in concise terms, I would like to stress that the following are among the most important tasks of party organizations and echelons: above all, active participation in the implementation of WRON tasks, strict cooperation with military commissioners, assistance to order-keeping organs in their efforts to ensure public order and peace, the consistent unmasking and combating of extremist views of activists from Solidarity, KOR [Committee for the Defense of Workers], KPN [Confederation for an Independent Poland] and from other opposition organizations.

In speaking of the need to inform society about the constant threat from counterrevolutionary forces, it is at the same time necessary to stress that our party wishes to and is capable of reaching an understanding with the nation. A new, charter of such understanding, just being written, is the movement of citizens' National Salvation Committees [KON] of which there are nearly 4,500 in operation in the country and in which there is room for all Polish patriots.

National Salvation Committees, perhaps it would be better to call them national rebirth committees are springing up spontaneously in work establishments and in residential communities and they undertake various initiatives resulting from genuine needs. People with various political views and organizational affiliation find possibilities of participating in the

activity of these committees. Their value for the future is also based on this. Party echelons should support the development of this movement, assist in the implementation of its worthwhile initiatives and care for its true character.

An important task which falls to party organizations and echelons is that of the proper management and supervision of party cadre policies, new principles for which are presently being formulated. Rejecting the traditional, formal and bureaucratic approach to "nomenklatura," the party will conduct the kind of cadre policy that will assure its influence on the most important areas of sociopolitical life and at the same time the kind that will expand the social base of cadre selection and increase participation in managing the country by representatives of political parties, by young people, by Catholic communities and by nonparty representatives of all communities. The party will promote to management positions people who have influence in and the trust of the community and society because of their moral stand, their qualifications and civic values.

An important task at present is the replacement of cadres, their fair evaluation and proper parting with people who are leaving to do other work or who are retiring.

In the course of the discussion already launched on the future of the trade union movement, the voices of party organizations and party members must not fall short. The extensive experiences and output of the trade union movement during the past 37 years of People's Poland, including the proven forms of everyday social activity on behalf of the work force, should be put to use in the discussion.

It should be remembered in this discussion that unity is what decides the strength of the workers class and that this unity is implemented in workers organizations with the party at the head and in the trade union movement. Under the influence of total antisocialist propaganda and the activity of counterrevolutionary forces in Poland, the unity of the workers class became unsettled as a result of the organizational and programmatic disruptive effect of the trade union movement.

At the Ninth Congress, the PZPR conducted a reevaluation of its stand toward trade unions and recognized their right to independence and independence from economic administration and their right to internal self-government. However, the trade union movement in socialist Poland cannot have goals which are discordant with the structural principles of the state. History has no examples whereby the trade union movement deprived of a bond with the Marxist-Leninist party could serve the labor class properly. On the other hand, the utopianism of anarchosindicalist concepts is a clear example of this. It is worth remembering this in the discussion which is currently being conducted.

#### Party Cadre

The party must return to normal functioning but it should be better and more effective than it has been up to now. The mistakes committed by the party



before August 1980 and the severe weaknesses in its activity during the last year or so are more visible today than even several months ago.

The situation in party organizations and echelons is still very differentiated depending on the viovodship, place of work, institution and community. In many plants, colleges, institutions, schools and in rural areas, the POP are just rebuilding their activity. It is the obligation of party echelons to help these organizations to maximum degree so that they regain their ability to perform and their activeness.

Martial law has created qualitatively new conditions of party organization activity. The party entered this period extremely weakened and is slowly rebuilding its strength. Among others, meetings of the POP, the initiating of training and propaganda work attest to this fact. As is indicated by recent months, much also has to be changed in the work of the party echelons and the party apparatus. Only a close and constant contact of the apparatus and the aktiv with party organizations gives the effects desired. Political employees and the eligible aktiv must prove themselves at meetings and in direct work with people. Among other things, fieldwork conducted by Central Committee employees, the rise of regional centers for party work and the intensification of lecture activity serve this purpose.

It is also necessary to improve the ideological upbringing activity of the party, propaganda and information, thus, areas in which despite certain improvement, there is still so much to be done and at which so many critical words are directed by the aktiv.

However, in speaking of the stimulation of party activity, we must also remember the specific cadre situation within echelons. As a result of the election campaign prior to the Ninth Congress, nearly total replacement of leadership cadres took place within the party. This replacement encompassed 80 percent of viovodship committees and more than 65 percent of municipal, rural commune and plant echelons. Half of the first secretaries of the POP are new people. Enormous changes in the party apparatus within the last 18 months which took in nearly 6,000 persons and which constitutes 53 percent and nearly 11,000 employees of political parties should be added to this. The extent of cadre difficulties in finding adequately prepared people for the party apparatus, difficulties which, among other things, are the result of a certain atmosphere created around political employees of the party is attested to most clearly by the fact that currently, there are many unfilled staff positions in the country. It is also worth knowing that 40 percent of the employees of the party apparatus have in the past 18 months gone onto other work beyond the apparatus.

In seeing the positive effects of the democratic elections and the extensive replacement of cadres during the last campaign, it is necessary, however, to remember that the training and preparation of cadres for the party apparatus requires a specified amount of time. And it is within this context that the selection, rotation and replacement of cadres should be viewed.

The last elections were held under unnatural conditions. Speaking very broadly, it was not democracy that caused disappointment but the political climate which obliterated the clarity of evaluations and inclined toward unjustified mistrust of the hitherto existing aktiv. The political climate in which the campaign was conducted prevented the proper selection of candidates for a given function. As a result of the ideological havoc in the leadership of many plant, academic and POP organizations, there were people who were under the extremist influence of Solidarity and susceptible to opportunism.

These people are currently being recalled from their functions. After 13 December, the replacement of 349 first-level-echelon secretaries and those of the KM [City Committees], 307 secretaries of plant committees and 2,091 first secretaries from POP and from OOP [Department Party Organizations] was carried out. More than 1,800 members of city, rural commune and voivodship committees, as well as members of control and revisory committees, were recalled from their functions.

To rebuild the party means also to rebuild its cadre. At the same time, it is necessary to remember the battle with bureaucracy, the auxiliary role of the apparatus, the need for modesty especially bearing in mind the public's sensitivity to the arrogance of the authorities in the not so distant past.

The problems of ideological and political strengthening of the party and the building of premises for public confidence in it--this is currently the major problem facing the PZPR.

9853

CSO: 2600/787

## ROMANIA

### NEED FOR IMPROVEMENT OF WORK OF TRADE UNION ORGANS

Bucharest MUNCA DE PARTID in Romanian Jul 82 pp 63-66

[Article by Stefan Calinescu, first deputy chairman of the Commission for Organization and Cadres of the Central Council of the General Union of Trade Unions of Romania]

[Text] In line with the directives and guidelines contained in the address of party secretary general Nicolae Ceausescu at the Congress of the General Union of Trade Unions of Romania [UGSR], the trade union organs and organizations during this period have been allotted great and increasingly significant tasks in all areas of socio-economic activity. Their materialization on the level of current requirements necessitates constant concern for enhancing the trade unions' organizational ability to mobilize the masses in fulfilling the plan provisions, in the progress of our society, for upgrading their style and methods of work.

Organization and highly efficient exercise of supervision over the implementation of decisions are the essential requirements for the achievement of this goal. This need has an overall character and involves a duty for all trade union organs, specifically focusing on the executive bodies of the UGSR Central Council but also on the branch union committees and trade union territorial councils, in whose activity, role and statutory duties supervision is prominent.

In order for supervision to be effective, it must fully involve the requirements that ensure it the character of a tool designed to secure the development of all the activity in full agreement with the needs of the revolutionary work style.

This imperative was forcefully stressed by Nicolae Ceausescu, the party secretary general, at the enlarged plenary session of the CC of the RCP held on 1-2 June 1982, when he stated that we must have a firm attitude against shortcomings, against mistakes, we must fearlessly expose shortcomings and mistakes and work for their elimination, because this provides the guarantee for upgrading work in all the areas.

As shown by practice, of outstanding importance in this regard are the preventive character of supervision, organization and exercise of supervision expeditiously and continuously, so that it may be a constant factor of activity in all its stages of development, beginning with the start of every project until its completion. By doing so many trade union organs, such as the executive bureaus of trade union committees in the metallurgical and machine building industries, in transportation and telecommunications, of county councils of trade unions of Prahova, Suceava,

Sibiu and others manage to constantly step in promptly for eradication of phenomena that generate deficiencies, to prevent procrastinations in terms of commencing planned projects and shallow attitudes in their development, the use of improper methods, violations of standards and regulations established. The introduction in current practice of the procedure that involves officials with responsible jobs being in the field on a regular basis in units, participating actively in the preparation of projects, and the collective examination, at optimal intervals, of the development of the projects, ensures prompt correction of what does not correspond to requirements and discovery and dissemination of advanced experience.

Contrarywise, when supervision is excluded from the set of measures that are taken to complete some tasks, the results totally differ from those that were anticipated. For instance, the fact that at the Arad Municipal Council of Trade Unions, a large number of activities envisioned for the first and second quarters of this year still are in the stage of provisions is the result not only of overplanning for the above-mentioned periods but also of delayed organization of supervision and exercise of supervision at a time when its main effect only involved drawing lessons for the future. A great volume of work for the substantiation and formulation of programs of activity, determination of the need and specification of undertakings and measures was wasted because it could not be converted into practical results.

The above examples, to which more can be added, advocate most careful and responsible concern of trade union organs for the need to act firmly for proper implementation, at all levels, in compliance with specific requirements, of the measures approved by the UGSR Central Council on the introduction of a uniform system of estimation, records and monitoring of the implementation of decisions. In using this supervisory factor the emphasis must be placed on combating, from the start, the tendencies which manifest themselves in some places to reduce the concerns in the area involved to preparing cards and records, forgetting that the purport of the measures taken must involve direct, prompt and thorough on-the-scene information about the stage in implementation of decisions and duties.

In the work of trade union organizations, also, like in the entire social activity, the essence of supervision, its fundamental function, involve efficient assistance to the supervised persons in organization and unfolding of work, in resolution of the problems with which collectives in units are confronted.

This defining facet of supervision in our socialist society, which strictly differentiates it from bureaucratic inspection, tellingly asserts its values in all circumstances. The Alba County Council of Trade Unions, for instance, was gratified to have provided its acknowledged and appreciated input into spurring working people's efforts to upgrade the quality of output. A broad program of supervision, guidance, and assistance, consistently developed over a longer period, by means of collectives made up of trade union officials and specialized cadres from state organs resulted in the initiation of a wide range of activities, including the stimulating contest with the award "Quality Banner," the reorganization of the "quality displays," the initiation of discussions in the form of "Complaint Against This Product" or on the topic of violations of technical standards, the institution of the "Technical-Scientific Creativity Week" and the like which occurred at the enterprises for accessories for machine-tools at Blaj, for socks at Sebes, for footwear "Ardeleana," for leather items "Caprioara," at Alba Iulia "Portelanul" and in many other units.

During inspection, the committees of trade unions, of the section organizations and the bureaus of trade union groups were concretely helped to undertake themselves such projects that fitted their procedures, to broadly promote advanced attitudes and worker responsibility for quality.

Moreover, by systematic supervisory projects, which focused on assisting the supervised parties to fulfill their duties, the Sibiu County Council of Trade Unions was a major factor in increasing the input of trade unions in promoting the programs for encouraging mass scientific-technical creativity, mobilizing for this purpose more than 41,000 working people. Consequently, 1981 saw solutions found to 2,400 problems, application of 190 inventions and 193 innovations, with an economic efficiency valued at 518.6 million lei.

Placing even more emphasis on this fundamental function of supervision, the executive bureaus of trade union councils of Tulcea, Olt, Vrancea, Teleorman, Constanta and Bistrita-Nasaud counties played an active role through collectives that were organized in conjunction with the labor safety inspectorates and the directorates for labor affairs and social care, in units with special working conditions, generating expeditious technical and organizational measures whose application resulted in the continuous decline in morbidity with temporary work disability and its going down below the countrywide level.

The development of the good results, the generalization of procedures such as those mentioned above are essential priorities. However, we must point out that there still are cases, in almost all counties, when the inspections organized by territorial councils and by some unions of trade unions involve hurried trips of officials through units or shallow analyses, made by some collectives, chiefly based on statistical figures provided by functional services of the enterprises or by local specialized bodies, without achievement of a direct contact with the realities and with the people's activities, without direct estimation of the problems that arise. Hence, instead of actual solutions and assistance that needs to be given in the field, such inspections only "succeed" in providing the higher bodies with sterile information and findings, which contain views of officials who try to justify the existence of deficiencies, or with general assessments resulting from simplistic processing and subjective interpretation of some global figures. Consequently, in such situations, supervision takes on the character of a routine and red tape activity in terms of organization and inefficient one in terms of substance, in certain instances, even leading to the maintenance of unsatisfactory situations or blockage of valuable initiatives.

The UGSR Central Council takes a severe stand and condemns this kind of supervision, pointing out its basic deficiencies and in exchange highlighting the values of effective supervision, conceived as actual assistance and support given to the trade union organizations that are supervised. We take a firm stand against this kind of inspection also during the training of the central apparatus and in the field, when we come upon it. Our militant stand against this approach to and conduct of supervision also stems from the fact that wherever it is organized and unfolds we have rather significant damages. For instance, in Calarasi County, there was failure to organize -- and this happened in a large number of trade unions -- the general assemblies and annual meetings for reports, although the county trade union council had reported the completion of the project.

Further, waste of time and effort results from the procedure used in some territorial councils of trade unions in Braila, Arges and Vilcea counties and also in some unions of trade unions, where the projects of supervision, guidance and assistance which precede some analyses in the executive bureaus of these bodies only involve collection of written information. Moreover, there is the proliferation of a phenomenon, that could be called thematicomania, that involves formulation and circulation of a considerable number of topics, charts and records, whose completion swallows the work time of the active and other cadres in socioeconomic units. Also, by replacement of man by papers, reality changes, softening the asperities, a fact which, if it does not generate, it certainly encourages the appearance of self-satisfaction, of complacency and, ultimately, indolence, slowness and apathy, which are totally incompatible with the revolutionary style of work.

Firm renunciation of such anachronistic procedures, which undermine the essential function of supervision, that of exposing the shortcomings and eliminating them, takes on greater significance if we view these phenomena in our work in light of the underlining made by Nicolae Ceausescu at the enlarged plenary session of the Central Committee of the RCP held on 1-2 June 1982, focusing on the imperative need for expanding socialist democracy. If forms and tools are used that replace direct contact with life, with people's activities, supervision cannot operate among the factors that concretely express democracy, depriving itself of the efficiency that can result from collecting and taking into consideration of the views, proposals and suggestions of those who effectively materialize the decisions taken, views which stem from thorough knowledge of reality, and also establishment of the best possible measures for upgrading work. In the activity of trade union bodies, the tie between supervision and democracy is an objective factor, a determining requirement which naturally results from the very specific nature of the broadest mass organization of the working class. Moreover, consultation of the masses on all problems of major importance for the work force is and must be for trade union organs at all levels a statutory duty.

Life provides us with data and facts which compel us to also point out the need for the trade union organs, from the union committees, territorial councils up to the trade union committees, to more intensively concern themselves also with enhancing the formative and educational function of the supervision exercised.

The principle of renewing, at the time of elections, at least one-third of the number of trade union organs, the natural wish of working people that every time the greatest possible number of new cadres be drawn into the leading bodies of trade union organizations resulted in the considerable rise in the number of people who for the first time fulfill such duties; it now amounts to 50% in the bureaus of trade union groups, 52.5% in the committees of trade union organizations of sections, plants, factories, mines and the like, and 55% in trade union committees. This situation, coupled with the diversification and greater complexity of tasks, results in the training of cadres, enhancement of their level of knowledge, becoming a constant need, being an indissoluble part of all the work of guidance, assistance and supervision.

As a matter of fact, through its very role, supervision must ensure complete clarification of the bodies supervised and of their members as to all the problems pertaining to the function, duties and tasks and also the procedures for completion.

The need is taken into consideration in most cases, but there still are situations when, after completion of the inspection, made by some officials and even collectives sent from the UGSR Central Council, from the committees of unions of trade unions of various activity branches and territorial councils, the supervised parties do by no means enrich their knowledge as to the organization and unfolding of work, the forms and procedures of effective participation in the fulfillment of economic and social tasks, do not better understand the regulations and standards in force, and often are left with unclarities. Limiting itself to setting requirements and tasks, to formulating imperatives, even if they are accompanied by specific target dates and responsibilities, supervision conceived and exercised only in terms of "requesting" without "giving" does not generate concrete results in upgrading work, it is sterile, formal, without positive effects and, consequently, without durable impact.

Strictness against shortcomings, fostering of a spirit of profound involvement, development of initiative and responsibility in work, also, are paramount and timely requirements of the supervisory activity which the UGSR Central Council constantly takes into consideration. The ability of organization and mobilization of the masses, as a major condition of successful action, can remain, partially or totally, in a latent stage if those who are meant to use it lack the will and accountability. And, as is well known, these are generated and develop not simply by planting beliefs, but by daily practice in the work process, through a firm, militant attitude against irregularities, laxity and violations. Practice has proved more than once that good results are obtained only when supervision objectively surveys the unsatisfactory situations found and points out, without diminutions, their consequences, regardless of the functions of the offenders. Clemency, called by some "concern" or "care" for comrades, has never been useful to those to whom it was shown and even less to the overall activity of the trade union bodies to which they belong. Although they are fully aware of this axiomatic truth, some trade union organs, which include the executive bureaus of trade union councils of Salaj, Vaslui, Calarasi, and Harghita counties and many trade union committees handle the shortcomings of their members with indulgence and are surprised that in this context some of the deficiencies in their activities continue to exist and increase.

For trade union work, the need for inextricable and permanent intertwining of their concerns for the training of cadres with those focusing on their education is also forcefully highlighted by the principle of autonomy whose essence involves the trade union organs' ability to act independently and with the highest spirit of responsibility and initiative in organizing their own work for the efficient implementation of their tasks and duties. Militancy, critical and self-critical spirit in the exercise of supervision are essential requirements for the formation and development of this ability, on which ultimately hinges the demonstration of the social usefulness of the work of trade unions, the pillar on which they build their authority and assert their role and powers assigned by the party.

Further placing greater emphasis on upgrading supervision, its forms of organization and exercise, in full compliance with the needs of efficiency, the trade union organs and organizations, under the leadership of party organs and organizations, will have a greater input into the implementation of the party Program for building a multilaterally developed socialist society and Romania's advancement toward communism.

ECONOMIC LOSSES CAUSED BY VIOLATIONS OF LAWS

Bucharest MUNCA DE PARTID in Romanian Jul 82 pp 7-10

[Unsigned article]

[Text] The increasing complexity and volume of assignments in this stage imperatively require all party organs and organizations, mass and civic organizations, all the party and state active to give prominence, as a primordial concern, to firm implementation of party and state decisions, of the country's laws. Nicolae Ceausescu stressed: "We must pay special attention to enhancing the spirit of responsibility and discipline in firm implementation of the tasks assigned by the party and the people. In any office he holds, the communist must display a spirit of high responsibility and strictness, he must act very firmly for the implementation of the country's laws and party decisions."

Working to consistently implement this task, the party organs and organizations are in duty bound to ensure in all the work collectives rigid discipline, exemplary order, a high spirit of responsibility of every party and state official, of every worker in the fulfillment of their assignments.

Practice has confirmed the truth according to which one of the sine qua non requirements of observance of laws involves thorough knowledge of their provisions by each communist, by each working person. It goes without saying that before conducting an ample political-educational activity for the implementation of the party and state decisions, there is the need for intensive work to thoroughly study their contents, to assimilate each provision. For the purpose of creating this kind of support, the party organs and organizations make use of an entire system of political activities designed to assist communists, the other working people in understanding the need and procedures for the application of laws in every circumstance, for strict observance of the legal provisions. Study and seminar discussion of party and state decisions, organization of consultations by ablest cadres -- officials with responsible positions, lawyers, economists -- answers to people's questions, popularization of laws by concentric visual propaganda, such as setting up the "Legal Forum," initiations of special broadcasts over radiorelay stations such as "Dialog With the Law," "Lawgiver's Advice" or "In Conflict With Discipline," provision of compilations of laws and decisions at the political-ideological information centers -- these are a few of the tools that asserted their efficiency.



Certainly, this concern cannot, must not exclude the stage that follows after the adoption of some decisions, when naturally priority is given to most rapidly and accurately bringing the provisions of a party and state document to people, especially to those designated to ensure their implementation. Life has proved that any delay in transmission of some measures generates undesired intermissions, which often are damaging, in expeditious implementation of decisions, retarding the obtaining of the effects anticipated.

For instance, we know that Decree 400/1981 was amply discussed in all the economic units. Nevertheless, after the organization of the information drives, serious violations of work discipline continued to occur -- absenteeism, leaving facilities unsupervised or operating them incorrectly, leaving them unattended, introduction and drinking of alcoholic beverages, pilfering. Last year, at the Pitesti Petrochemical Combine, the damages and various technical accidents resulted in the loss of an industrial output valued at more than 500 million lei. Such situations, which occurred against the backdrop of serious manifestations of indiscipline, disorder and lack of supervision also were found at the Borzesti Petrochemical Combine, Petrila Mining Enterprise, Galati Metallurgical Combine, Cimpia Turzii "Industria Sirmei" Metallurgical Combine, Turceni Thermoelectric Power Station, and the Arad Oil Drilling and Extraction Trust.

As is known, some officials in the system of foreign trade units committed serious violations. A great responsibility for these violations falls to party organizations in ministries, in the other central economic bodies and in the foreign trade enterprises, that, even when they knew of the violations involved, did not analyze these phenomena with principled accountability and strictness, did not take steps to bring all the offenders to account in light of party standards and did not request the leading bodies of the ministries to remove them from foreign trade activity.

With major lessons being drawn from these gross violations of the country's laws, which harmed the state's interests and caused great damage to the economy, there is the need for each communist, each working person, regardless of the office they hold in the enterprise -- manager, department head, foreman or machine operator -- to work tirelessly for the protection of public property, to display greatest concern for best possible preservation of the part from the people's assets that was entrusted to them for administration and management. The capacity of owner, maker and user of the product of his work requires every worker to sacredly protect the machines and installations, the output which is turned out, to most carefully and sensibly handle raw materials and supplies, ensuring their complete and highly efficient utilization.

Firm implementation of party and state decisions is a permanent duty of all party organs and organizations, an overall valid imperative. Consequently, also the political work focusing on the formation and development of a militant opinion, for rigid observance of legality, for combating of any act of indiscipline, must proceed uninterruptedly, without breaks and discontinuities. Moreover, there is the need for ensuring strict supervision, for markedly preventive and steadfast efforts which help to eradicate any tendency to disregard the provisions which underlie our legal order.

Concerned with ensuring a wide-ranging character to the projects designed to enhance accountability in strict implementation of party and state decisions, the party organs and organizations are required to constantly focus on the manner in which the youth is educated in the spirit of compliance with the laws, to closely monitor the formative activities, to help to end any tendency to disregard socialist laws.

Evidently, working to create a climate of high militancy, the party organs and organizations must take prompt and firm stand against the slightest illegality. Because to tolerate indiscipline, to close one's eye to the violator of the provisions in force by no means signifies proving humanism. Conversely, proving tolerance in such a situation practically means encouraging illegal behavior, hence not helping the offender to become aware of the harm caused to society and also not helping the collective to understand that this kind of phenomena must be steadfastly combated.

While the requirement for adherence to the country's laws is a major issue for every citizen, for communists it is one of the basic statutory duties, because the implementation of the provisions of party discipline harmoniously intertwines with compliance with the provisions of state discipline. There is an indestructible tie between state discipline and party discipline, because the state laws always reflect the party's political line. Therefore, the reasoning of those party members is wrong according to which they allegedly are required to comply only with the statutory provisions, with the provisions of party discipline, while state discipline allegedly involves the other citizens. A communist is required not only to comply with the country's laws, with statutory discipline, but also to be constantly in the forefront of the fight to most steadfastly implement them, taking a firm stand against anyone who strays the slightest from our socialist laws.

At the enlarged plenary session of the CC of the RCP, held early last June, Nicolae Ceausescu pointed out: "The communist must not reconcile himself with deficiencies, with shortcomings, he must constantly be steadfast with himself, the same as with his work mates." In line with this requirement, the party organs and organizations developed and conducted, in a differentiated concept, an intensive political activity of fostering in each party member a high spirit of responsibility in the implementation, first by himself, in all circumstances, of the provisions of socialist laws, the principles of socialist ethics and equity. Understanding the defining truth for their social and moral status, pointed out on numberless occasions by the party secretary general, according to which the communists do not have special rights or extra privileges in society, and that the different factor from the other working people involves their greater duties, their higher awareness, the revolutionary, steadfast spirit which governs their work and life, the party members must demonstrate by their daily actions, by their everyday behavior, by their whole conduct, that they are ready to make any sacrifice for the triumph of the policy of the party, of its great cause.

As revolutionaries who, with awareness, have pledged to work for the accomplishment of the socialist and communist ideals, the communists are in duty bound to honorably fulfill their tasks in all areas of activity -- Nicolae Ceausescu strongly emphasized at the historic plenary session of the CC of the RCP held on 1-2 June 1982. Proceeding from the truth that simply an agreement of principle to the spirit and letter of the law is not sufficient, the party organs and organizations are developing systematic programs which focus on the formation in all the communists of

a high awareness, of enhanced responsibility. By using all the arsenal of political-organizational and educational tools -- political-ideological training, party general assemblies, individual discussions -- the county party committees periodically survey the concerns of party organs and organizations for the purpose of strict implementation of party and state decisions.

Standing out in its full significance is the underlining made by the party secretary general in regard to the need for all party and state workers, all communists, all the work force understanding that in face of the law, in face of legal order all are equal, regardless of their position in social hierarchy and, consequently, all are required to abide by the provisions stipulated in our socialist laws, in full compliance with the principles of socialist ethics and equity which the party firmly promotes.

Constantly guided by the assessment made by the party secretary general at the plenary session of the CC of the RCP held early in June, in whose light any violation of the country's laws, of party and state decisions is incompatible with the quality of party member, the party organs and organizations will display the firmness required, producing the application of the measures in line with this important directive, regardless of the office held by the offender.

An official in an executive post is all the more required to be, in all aspects, a lofty example of strict observance of the law, ensuring in the collective which he heads firm implementation of the law, an attitude pervaded with discipline and integrity. No one may govern himself by individual laws and regulations, because lawfulness and discipline are mandatory for all the citizens of this country, all the more so for executives, for the party and state active. The office entrusted by the party and people to some officials does not entitle them to evade the laws of this country, to distort their meaning and contents, to apply them arbitrarily; on the contrary, they have greater duties in ensuring firm implementation of the laws, themselves abiding by them most strictly. And if in some places violations are committed, if the provisions in force are not followed, this also is the effect of flaws in the political-educational work, in party supervision, the effect of failure to understand this basic requirement.

To most strictly ensure firm implementation by all the cadres, by all communists, of the party and state decisions, to make every effort to prevent any illegal act, to assure great order and discipline -- here are a few basic requirements for the development everywhere of a climate of respect for the law, a constant concern for giving priority to the decisions of our highest party and state bodies, whose materialization secures the tremendous growth of the Romanian society along the road of socialism and communism.

11710

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CORRUPTION, GRAFT OF PARTY MEMBERS REVEALED

Bucharest MUNCA DE PARTID in Romanian Jul 82 pp 85-89

[Unsigned article]

[Text] No Room in the Party Organ for Those Who Harm Its Prestige

At one point, between Engr. Mihail Munteanu and technician Lucretia Manofu, both members of the party organization at the Orsova "Cazanele" Textile Enterprise in Mehedinti County, there was a disagreement, that generated a conflictual situation. Such situations occur sometimes, but in most cases everything is resolved satisfactorily. It is the natural consequence of the fact that party members, in light of the essential duty to be a model of behavior in their families and society, prove patience, calm and tact in finding the best ways to eliminate disagreements.

But how did Mihail Munteanu act? He let loose his primitive instincts and under their impulse he went to the office where the technician was and punched her with his fists causing injuries which required medical care.

The offender also is a member of the party committee. In this case he proved that he did not know how to relate to people, that he did not have the qualities needed for such duties and for holding executive positions in the professional field. And one of the essential duties of party organs involves seeing to it that such individuals do not penetrate their ranks.

Hence, the party committee should have taken firm action. But only a month and a half later it submitted the case for discussion, penalizing the engineer with a "vote of censure with warning," but maintaining his quality as a member of the party organ. Unfortunately, the Orsova Town Party Committee and the county committee, ignoring the statutory provisions that underlie the elections to party committees, assessed that the engineer's actions were compatible with the quality of a member of a party organ.

We firmly believe that, at least now, this case will be discussed more thoroughly and that measures will be taken so that the party organ may not include people who, by their behavior and attitude, harm its authority and injure the prestige enjoyed by the party in the ranks of the masses.

## Manager's Home Comfort Built By Reducing Animal Sheltering Facilities

The investment project law clearly stipulates how each leu appropriated from the country's budget must be managed, what are the duties of the builder and of the user in terms of handling materials, the obligation of preventing any kind of waste, and non-cost-effective consumption rates, very severely punishing violations of current standards.

In this context there is the need for analyzing and penalizing the action of Ioan Scurtu, manager of the Frenciugi Intercooperative Economic Association for Milch Cows, Scheia Commune, Iasi County. He ordered that materials be taken from the unit's construction site and be used for repairs and upgrading comfort in the apartment which he inhabited, thus charging to the "public pocket" -- by misuse and fraud -- the money spent on attaining great personal ambitions.

Specialized county organs had to step in to restore order in the situation that had arisen, requiring the manager to return the cement, reinforcing bars, lumber, bricks and the other materials swiped from the construction site. He was fined 1,000 lei for the violation committed. Moreover, the party organization penalized him with a "vote of censure with warning." But...

There is a "but" in the profound, demanding and example-setting examination of this situation. Did manager I. Scurtu live by himself in this village? Why did public opinion manifest itself only after the county organs determined at the scene the violations committed and did not step in before? For the materials were transported not by Scurtu on his back, but by truck or horse wagon -- over a distance of several kilometers, past the gates of hundreds of families. Moreover, on behalf of the communal party committee and the people's council answerable for this "the locality's most important economic facility" was its secretary himself, mayor Constantin Pristavu. Why did he not report this action? What kind of supervision, what kind of guidance did he provide, if before his eyes such a reprobable action occurred?

For the purpose of maximum lessons to be drawn by all the parties, the above case must be analyzed in its full complexity. And the measure of removing I. Scurtu from the office which he is still holding, even though his moral physiognomy proves as clearly as daylight that by his behavior he does not measure up to the quality of a leader, must be followed by bringing to account all those who proved shallowness in the exercise of their duties, in one form or another facilitating pilfering from public property and proliferation of misuse and inequity. Of course, it is necessary to dwell on this matter also during the training sessions organized by the bureau of the county party committee.

## Illegality Is Illegality With or Without Unit's Management Approval

"It was confirmed that in section II Medias of the "Emailul Rosu" Enterprise there were turned out two wrought iron bookcases, five luggage racks for privately owned automobiles, six tubular keys" the reply to a notification sent to the Medias Municipal Party Committee firmly says.

Such actions which have turned the section, with a well defined profile, with plan assignments, into a kind of service shop available to those who, eager to evade the

provisions of socialist laws, take most advantage of public property, did not happen only once, accidentally.

All these services used materials and facilities of the enterprise, during working hours. Defying the in-house rules of operation, the legal standards, the principles of socialist ethics and equity, the managing body of the section involved permitted that matters of strictly personal interest be handled here.

What was the end for all these dishonest actions, which spotlight the retrograde mental attitude of some cadres who knowingly mistake the people's property for their own? The council of working people merely issued a decision whereby it ordered a ban on such services without the approval of the leading body. Hence, a legal cover is being sought in order to continue the acts of indiscipline, a simple approval from management for covering, justifying any kind of violation of the regulations in force. A firmer, more steadfast stand was to be expected from the municipal party committee. But, unfortunately, it too preferred to take the same path. "Because there were found some violations of the rules of procedure in the enterprise, of party and state discipline, the secretariat of the municipal party committee summoned the management of the enterprise and the secretary of the party committee, warning them for the irregularities found and advising that measures be taken to avoid such violations. Furthermore, it recommended to the party committee to discuss the cases of the section head, Fodor Onoriu, and Vasile Salajan, the secretary of the section party committee," the report worked out said.

With such characterization of the violations of the provisions of socialist laws, with such instructions, which by no means urged strictness and severity, the plenary session of the enterprise party committee could not reach a different conclusion as to the responsibility of the section head for all that was happening under his eyes and with his agreement, as to the gravity of the illegalities. Hence, the section head was penalized with "reprimand," and the council of working people decided to transfer him to another job.

How come that so much indulgence was displayed for such grave actions? Why was not the analysis carried farther and the dishonest procedures submitted for discussion to the section party organization? How many officials of the municipal party committee passed through this enterprise, through the section, without reporting what was happening? What does the presence of the instructor, who is responsible for the party organization here, involve? Actually, also questioned is the responsibility of the member of the municipal party committee who was allotted the task of guiding, assisting and supervising the activity of the party committee.

Not answering all these questions means minimizing the gravity of the illegalities committed, leaving them unpunished, fostering the belief that state discipline could be violated and public property harmed provided one obtains management's approval. And it is hard to believe that the bureau of the municipal party committee shares such a profoundly harmful idea.

Present Only in Supervisors' Records

We all are aware of the responsibility which rests with supervisors in maintaining order and discipline, establishing a climate of great strictness inside each

collective of the enterprise, section, work group. Nevertheless, cases are still found when, instead of monitoring the way in which the working hours are utilized, they provide excuses without any serious justification and afterwards do not survey the making up for all the hours missed. This applies to Elena Wolff, shop supervisor, and Rozalia Szabo, receiver-shipper, at the Cloth Enterprise in Sighisoara, Mures County, who, in order to cover the absence of those excused from work, resorted to phony clocking, permitting payments to be made to some workers to which they were not entitled.

The circumstance which R. Szabo attempts to create -- claiming that E. Wolff exerted pressure, threatening her that if she did not do the operations as told she would transfer her -- cannot be taken into consideration because no order that contradicts the laws should be obeyed.

Of course, there may be circumstances when a worker has serious reasons for asking for an excusal. But in this case, naturally, it is correctly recorded, so that at the end of the month he may receive his pay for the hours he actually worked. But precisely this was not done at the Cloth Enterprise, a fact for which, with good reason, the Sighisoara Municipal Party Committee stepped in, submitting this case for discussion to the party organization. The penalty "vote of censure" given to E. Wolff and R. Szabo, for having allowed themselves to introduce in the collective in which they worked an order different from the normal one, expresses the communists' disapproval of such procedures.

Moreover, it is necessary also to more thoroughly analyze the stand of the enterprise party committee and party branch bureau who for a long while closed their eyes to and actually tolerated the violation of order and discipline, of legality. Because one cannot admit that, in such an important area as the one that involves observance of legality, the presence of a firm, strict party supervision, which does not permit any form of evasion of the regulations in force and, especially, violation of these regulations, did not make itself felt.

#### Comment on a Letter. Strictness Replaced by Excessive Clemency

Ioan Constantin Suciu, residing in Brasov, 3 Minerva Street,.... by profession a soccer coach, ex-vice chairman at Brasov FCM during the 1979-1981 period, as he states in his letter to the editorial office, expressed his displeasure over the criticism formulated in the articles printed in our issues of August 1981 and May 1982, on the violations and financial frauds committed at the Brasov club. "We do not understand who profits by misinformation of public opinion, slandering of the sports movement and condemnation of Brasov FCM," he wrote. "It is true that some violations were committed at Brasov FCM: granting some extra game bonuses to players, purchase of Adidas shoes and Tango balls, training camps prior to the game, but not at the level of those reported in the article printed in August 1981 (....). I, myself, have never granted any amount of money to any coach, federal observer or other officials (....). I was astounded to read that 200,000 lei were received by Constanta FC from Brasov FCM to cede, in the fall of 1980, at home, the two points disputed in order to facilitate promotion to Division A of the Brasov team. I point out that in the fall of 1980 Brasov FCM played in Division A and Constanta FC in Division B."

Suciu's remark is correct. By a mistake of the review, for which we apologize, we retained from the Inspection Report containing violations and illegalities found in management of some funds at a number of clubs, prepared by the Higher Court of Financial Control and the Ministry of Finance, approved by the Permanent Bureau of the Political Executive Committee of the CC of the RCP, that in the fall season happened what, as pointed out in the material, happened in the spring of the same year, 1980, on 16 March. However, the error in terms of... season cannot provide the alibi which, we feel, is now needed by the person whose actions are now awaiting trial. In the above-mentioned document it is stated clearly: "...In 1980, Constanta FC collected from Brasov FCM (according to the statements given from the inspection) the sum of 200,000 lei to yield the game in favor of this team (score 0-2) for the purpose of promotion of the Brasov FCM team to Division A. The amount involved did not appear in any document as paid out from Brasov FCM and was not recorded in the books of the Constanta club."

One may ask: But what guilt could have the ex-vice chairman of the Brasov club in regard to all this? Likewise, many perplexities could also be generated by the other elements transcribed above from the letter received from Suciu, specifically his emphasizing that someone elsewhere allegedly would have a particular interest in compromising soccer in general and Brasov soccer in particular.

True, recently there has been much and unfavorable talk about the "soccer people" of Brasov, about the very serious frauds and violations of ethical standards and financial regulations committed by them, about the team's promotion, based on fraud, to the first soccer division of this country. But this is only due to the people in Brasov who handled the affairs of local soccer. By their dishonest procedures in the formation of the money resources, most often in complete opposition to the country's laws, punishable under the Penal Code, by the manner in which they handled millions of lei collected in the so-called "nonaccounted funds," only they, people eager to enrich themselves, undermined the good reputation and the consideration enjoyed during the last decades by the soccer team of Brasov truck builders. Moreover, for the purpose of not remaining in the sphere of generalities, here is what is retained from the Report prepared on the basis of verification of notifications from a letter addressed to the party leadership in regard to some violations and illegalities committed by executive cadres at the Brasov Truck Enterprise, a document approved on 24 June 1981, that directly involves I. C. Suciu: "During the 1979-March 1981 period retained from about 7,000 persons listed on payrolls was the sum of 2,878,000 lei remitted on the basis of hand written receipts to a financial official (....). During September-October 1979, the proper organs made an inspection at the time of a game and found that tickets valued at 68,000 lei were sold which had not been entered in books, and the ex-vice chairman of the club, Constantin Suciu, guilty of these illegalities, was fined 100 lei (....). Other illegal procedures were used to create funds of money that had not been entered in books at Brasov FCM, by selling tickets, pictures, calendars, fliers, bags and other non-registered propaganda material, valued at more than 1 million lei (....). The sums were spent illegally by club chairman Teodor Verdes, vice chairman Constantin Suciu and coach Nicolae Proca (....). The persons investigated state that the reason for spending more than 1 million lei was the transfer of some players from other teams, the acquisition of coaches and federal observers."



According to the document, for commission of infractions of embezzlement, illegality on the job, giving and taking of bribe, penal measures were taken against several persons including the ex-vice chairman of the club, I. C. Suciu.

Recalling all this, we are surprised at the fact that, even though he is directly involved in the fraud of millions of lei committed at the club, the ex-vice chairman of this sports unit accuses others for, allegedly, unjustly slandering the Brasov sports movement; also, that losing himself in all kinds of justifications and details -- the names of his parents, the system of organization of soccer competitions in other countries, and so forth -- he forgets to apply just and exemplary self-criticism. But it seems that the period that has elapsed since the discovery of the incredible -- but real! -- frauds committed has not been long enough for the soccer coach-vice chairman (at that time) of Brasov FCM to bring him down on earth. Moreover, the irrefutable proofs provided could not convince him of and make him realize the social danger which his action spelled. Undoubtedly, a contributing factor was the indulgence displayed by the council of working people at the Truck Enterprise, who, not even after a year from the discovery of the fraud took the proper organizational measure against one of the chief offenders. Excessive clemency is as harmful as is complicity in the illegalities committed.

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CSO: 2700/328

## EXAMPLES OF 'CONSISTENT,' 'INCONSISTENT' LITERARY CRITICISM

Bucharest LUCEAFARUL in Romanian 17 Jul 82 p 9

[Article by Mirela Roznoveanu: "The Consistency and Inconsistency of Criticism"]

[Text] There are critics for whom a pretty and opportune lie counts more than recognition of a fact. And this attitude probably comes from a fear of nonexistent error when it is a question of a true creator, because in a free confrontation of ideas the error is not to be condemned--especially as, with aesthetic truths and taste undergoing a continual metamorphosis in a culture, revisions of opinions are normal and necessary--but, to paraphrase a statement of a contemporary thinker, the self-satisfied and aggressive clinging to obsolete ideas, in other words, pseudoscience.

I would have considered my discussion with Alex. Stefanescu ended after the response that I published in "Suplimentul Literar-Artistic al SCINTEII TINERETULUI" [The Literary and Artistic Supplement of SCINTEII TINERETULUI] of 9 May of this year, where, under the title "Obtuseness in Comprehending the Progress of Ideas in Criticism," I demonstrated that his discrediting opinions about today's new criticism, published in the periodical CRONICA of 1 January 1982 and the same supplement of 28 March of this year, have the character of a campaign. I would thus have considered this discussion ended because--I want it to be understood--the fact that my works do not please him did not cause me to respond, but the denial of a phenomenon that, behold, in apparently objective forms, Alex. Stefanescu ridicules once again on a page of the same supplement's issue of 16 May. That my last book seems "high-flown" and "grandiloquent" to him is a question of taste. Alex. Stefanescu's writing excels in the art of "interpreting" and of giving convenient responses, because, you see, the critic no longer likes it to be believed that he does not accept the new criticism but that he does not tolerate the overdoing of the "game of science." Thus, he does not breathe a word about his work to which I referred, published in the periodical CRONICA (1 January 1982), where he wrote: "I do not believe that there can be methods of investigating the text. What should you investigate? The alternation of the consonants and vowels, the frequency of the appearance of certain characters or, who knows, the chemical composition of the ink with which the book was printed?" and so on and so on.

However, here is what we read in the supplement of 16 May of this year: "The critics here who intelligently adopt new methods of analyzing the text or themselves conceive such methods--Marian Popa, Livius Ciocarlie, Magdalena Popescu, Dan Culcer, Eugen Negrici, Marian Papahagi, Ion Vartic, Al. Calinescu and so on--are viewed with interest and esteem. In any case, as far as I am concerned, many (?) times I have

indicated in writing my appreciation for their contribution to the modernization of our criticism."

To follow the thread of the critic's lapses of memory, let us see, for example, how he wrote about one of the critics respected by him in this sense, namely about Magdalena Popescu's monograph "Slavici," a piece of writing introduced in "Jurnal de Critic" [Journal of a Critic] (1981) under the title "Magdalena Popescu's Contribution to the Modernization of Our Current Criticism." Trying--it is written--to reconstitute "literature's effect on the reader, on a reader whom she depicts in an objective manner either by putting him together like a mannequin from the data furnished by immediate reality or by reconstructing him like a paleontological exhibit," the author "induces the taste of that time" (Slavici's time--our note), "there being a great waste of ingenuity, of erudition and sometimes (with some uneasiness!) even of imagination." Alex. Stefanescu does not specify that in the analysis it is a question of a semiotic model and even of a practice used by the poetics of comprehension (of which he had probably not yet heard). The discrediting conclusion from his phrases is that Magdalena Popescu was subject to a methodological whim that he is generously overlooking for reasons not very hard to understand. However, what "Magdalena Popescu's contribution to the modernization of our current criticism" is remains for the reader of the work, to the end, a mystery.

"Forgetting" that in CRONICA he had rejected semiotics in general as a method of analysis, with one example in this context also being a semiotic model used in my last book, Alex. Stefanescu denies in the supplement of 16 May that he would ever have accused me of "modernity." "Have I accused Mirela Roznoveanu of too much modernity?" Alex. Stefanescu asks in the first column, to continue in the fourth column with a series of accusations. Besides some semiotic terms and the "two diagrams similar to two cardiograms," the key point of the argument is that "Harap Alb" [White Blackamoor] was used incorrectly in the monograph "D. R. Popescu" as a model of a fairytale because it is not a folktale but was written by Ion Creanga. If he would have carefully studied the comparative model, Alex. Stefanescu would have observed that "Harap Alb" was broken down into narrative sequences (functions) and not analyzed from a stylistic viewpoint. The fairytale has a narrative scheme, a structure unique to it, in which the combination of a limited number of easily repeatable elements (the functions) leads to models of situations and behaviors of however great a complexity, a thing demonstrated by Propp. In this sense, "Harap Alb" is an ideal "scheme" of the Romanian fairytale, in which we find all the behavioral situations and the models of exemplary situations. What Propp did for the Russian fairytale in a theoretical synthesis, Ion Creanga achieved in an epic synthesis. I believed that this was implied and I render justice here to Alex. Stefanescu: In our analyses we must think both about those who do not understand and about those who do not want to understand. Regarding the terms that he would like eliminated from criticism for good--"signifying and signified, pertinent, ambiguity, (intertextualitate)" and so on--they express--we have no choice--very precise concepts. It has already become impossible to exclude them from the critical language. To proceed to an "autochthonization" in order to not grate on the ear of the critical "purist" would mean for us to fall into the error of those who proposed that we use the word "necktie" instead of "cravat." But even the haphazard citation above indicates confusion, ignorance. "(Intertextualitate)" is not a "word," but a method, a semiotic practice. In fact, this is not the only proof that Alex. Stefanescu does not read. "The outmoded, antiquated rhetoric, based on big and vacuous words that do not have any effect on today's clearheaded reader," detected in a phrase in my work, a phrase between

quotation marks--"Today's deliriums are often tomorrow's truths"--does not belong to me but to Roland Barthes. I am not asking Alex. Stefanescu to read the illustrious critic but only to remember one thing--that quotations are usually found between quotation marks."

The scientific "imitators," so-called, in today's criticism--I must say it--are held up to scorn by a veritable nonscientist, because what else is Alex. Stefanescu doing if not imitating in criticism what is practiced in a view about art professed by Nicolae Manolescu and abandoned by him for a "scientism" that I am amazed that the fervent imitator has not yet seen. The idea of art as a game, as a pure artisanal effect, as a crafty changing of masks, repeated in a leveling manner to the point of saturation, reproduces simplistically a critical exercise that has found itself a theoretical motivation and an expressive mode. Thus, leafing at random, we discover in "Preludiu" /Prelude/ (A. S.'s first book) that Dimitrie Stelaru "is a Shakespearean buffoon who cavorts in the middle of an arena, with the difference that he does not speak, but pretends to speak, truths, doing spectacular prestidigitation....," that in Eugen Jebeleanu the poetry "resembles an exposition in the glare of the spotlights" and that Leonid Dimov "creates a world in sport...." The ludic inclination is also specific to Nina Cassian and Tudor George, for whom the supreme ambition would be "to achieve, at any cost, a complete, overwhelming spectacle from which the spectators, even the most skeptical, can no longer depart"; in Marin Sorescu the "stage" and the "theater" would create the basic ambiguity of the poetry; "with a magic wand" Adrian Paunescu creates the "spectacle" placed "on the stage of the exceptional condition"; in novels Titus Popovici seems to be a veritable TV-show director; and so on.

In "Jurnal de Critic," in order to explain the view of art as a game, an appeal is made to the game of chess and to the play of children--the latter showing how far the infantilism of critical comparisons can be pushed. "Another situation," it says, "that reproduces the relationship between the writer and the critic: Gasping with enthusiasm, the child relates what extraordinary discoveries he made in the yard, while the mother, with a smile on her lips, watches him as he talks." (The critic, should we understand from this, is also the mother of the writer?!) The authors of romans a clef are absolutely pitiable in A. S.'s view, since they "are like those artisans who, collecting rocks and pieces of branches, present them, after superficial processing, as statuettes." This would demonstrate the fantasy of nature and a "ludic inclination" (of the artisans, of the collectors, of nature? Not even the last hypothesis is excluded, in other words, that nature too may be staged, in sport, in the changing of masks and so on). Originality in art is defined as the capacity to "achieve combinations," thus an artisanal aptitude. The critics would write from "the pleasure of dismantling the mechanism of literature in order to discover its secret," thus also from a ludic inclination, in sport, therefore. The changing of the rules of the game from classic prose is discussed as a transition from the "chatter-box" to the procedures of the new novel, whose "game" does not please him. In "Cartea Milionarului" /The Book of the Millionaire/, Stefan Banulescu achieves "an inimitable game of mirrors." In its turn, even "the prose of D. R. Popescu is like a game of mirrors that endlessly multiply the human portrait." A novel by Platon Pardau, "as complicated and baffling as a labyrinth but also as bubbly and exhilarating as champagne,...can be read in many ways. Above all, however, it can be viewed as a game of literature..." (a good thing that it is not with a ball!). In the act of writing the writer "resorts to a trick, namely...he utilizes literary procedures" (are the literary procedures therefore "tricks"?). Arghezianism is defined as "an

ability close to prestidigitation in the matter of utilizing words" (is Arghezianism really reduced to that?). And the examples of this sort can be cited by the hundreds. Not being able to determine and analyze the specificity of a work, Alex. Stefanescu applies in the critical exercise the same ludic "view" proceeding to a leveling that strips away the flesh and simplifies literature through a reduction to a common denominator. In this case, it is not a question of applying a critical concept but of a minimizing and sterile cliché, of an obvious paucity of means.

Besides this naive and ecstatic delight expressed before the conjuror-writer and the circus spectacle-literature, what gloom there is in "Jurnal de Critic" when the subject is modern criticism! Alex. Stefanescu deplores those who, barely out of college, burn with the desire "to possess a" critical "method as rapidly as possible" (as if methods would be acquired like automobiles!). The "Jurnal..." transcribes his entire anxiety before innovation, whether it is a question of poetry, prose or criticism.

This is the generous defender of the new criticism, the critic who is on the lookout for the overdoing of the "game of science" (ah, another "game") in the supplement's issue of 16 May, pretending that he has forgotten, in fact, his very recent opinions. "Too much fidelity is harmful," says Alex. Stefanescu, exhibiting once again an attachment for the ideas of the master. But also too much infidelity--we add--especially when it is a question of the opportunistic inconsistency of one's own opinions.

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CS0: 2700/334

READERS' QUESTIONS ON PARTY ORGANIZATION, OPERATION

Bucharest MUNCA DE PARTID in Romanian Jul 82 pp 91-96

[Text] Several propagandists have inquired about current efforts to ensure an adequate social composition of our party and about the proper measures taken by the party leadership.

Below we print a reply on the major guidelines and directives of the party leadership to ensure the continuous strengthening of the party ranks with the ablest workers, peasants and intellectuals.

In his address at the plenary session of the CC of the RCP held on 31 March 1982, party secretary general Nicolae Ceausescu assessed that the current social makeup of our party "actually mirrors the reality of our socialist society, the role played today in material production by workers and peasants, the two basic social classes, the intelligentsia -- that comes from the ranks of workers and peasants, hence it derives from and is an exponent of the working classes of our socialist society -- and this provides our party with the strength and vigor to adequately fulfill its historic mission of leading all the nation along the path of socialism and communism."

Taking into consideration the fact that only the existence in the party of a vigorous working-class nucleus is the basic guarantee of continuous maintenance and consolidation of party discipline, firmness, unity and political-ideological and organizational cohesion of its ranks, of its revolutionary, communist spirit, the plenary session of the CC of the RCP held on 31 March 1982 decided that the party organs and organizations further follow the guideline of predominantly accepting highly skilled workers from all economic branches, with these representing, this year also, 55-65% of all the working people who will be accepted into the party. Special emphasis is placed on increasing the number of party members in the total work force in the machine building, electronics and chemical industries, on construction sites, in forestry, in new industrial enterprises and in sections and shops of foundries, forge, thermal treatment and tool units.

Moreover, the plenary session of the CC of the RCP required the party organs and organizations in rural areas to step up their political-organizational work, further ensuring that out of the total of those accepted, minimum 15% be peasants, and in the counties where the work force in agriculture is larger, these account for at least 25% of the number of new party members.

In full compliance with the party policy of continuously reinforcing the unity of all working people around the party, the party organs and organizations pay the necessary attention to accepting into the party the ablest intellectuals, those who have proved that they endorse the political-ideological stand of our communist party, that they are profoundly devoted to the cause of the working class, those who distinguish themselves in scientific activity and in the activity of managing production, those who have created artistic and cultural products of a high artistic and ideological standing.

Because the party continues to include a great number of clerical workers without higher education, the party branches have received instructions to accept party members from their ranks only in special cases, when the county, municipal and town party organs consider this as absolutely necessary.

Under the current conditions, when the number of communists with college degrees, secondary education, those who completed training at technical, foremen and vocational schools has increased and when the drive has wound up for completion of gymnasium studies by party members of up to 50 years of age who had not completed the general education school, there is full justification for the measures taken by the plenary session of the CC of the RCP held on 31 March 1982 to ensure an adequate social composition of the party and for those regarding the school training for those who apply for party membership. It is clear that today neither party members nor the Union of Communist Youth [UTC] will be able to recommend someone for admission into the party if he or she does not have at least gymnasium training and the general assembly of the party branch cannot omit the duty not to accept the application for party membership from a working person who does not have the minimum school training.

As pointed out by party secretary general Nicolae Ceausescu, there has also been some increase in terms of the number of women party members, although it has not yet reached 30%. Because the task involves the number of women in party membership reaching 34-35% by the 13th Congress, the plenary session of the CC of the RCP held last March established that proper measures be taken by the National Council of Women and the Central Committee of the Union of Communist Youth to support local organs of the mass organizations involved in stepping up political-educational work among women and female young persons for training the ablest women workers, peasant women and intellectuals to be accepted into the party.

Noteworthy is the fact that in recent years more than 70% of new party members come from the ranks of UTC, "and this demonstrates" in Nicolae Ceausescu's words "the activity conducted by UTC among the youth and the awareness and will of young people to join our communist party, to be in the ranks of the leading force of our society, of the vital center of our nation, that ensures the dynamization of all the areas of activity." For the purpose of ensuring that in the future too at least 70% of the new party members are UTC members, the plenary session of the CC of the RCP outlined specific tasks for party organs and organizations and for UTC organs and organizations. For instance, in order to enhance the responsibility of UTC organizations in providing the recommendations for acceptance into the party, it was decided to introduce the obligatoriness of the participation of secretaries of party branches in the meetings of UTC organizations that discuss these recommendations. Their task is of assisting the UTC organizations in training those young people who deserve to join the ranks of communists.

In conclusion, the party leadership requires the party organs and organizations to conduct an activity to permanently strengthen the party ranks with the ablest, most deserving and aware working people -- workers, peasants, intellectuals -- of course, ensuring a social composition that reflects the class and social structure of our socialist society, where the working class has the leading role. Presently, as emphasized by party secretary general Nicolae Ceausescu at the enlarged plenary session of the CC of the RCP held in June 1982, "the chief issue is not numerical growth but enhancement of the quality of party members." According to the guideline in the Report given at the above plenary session, this means in the future focusing the efforts of party organs and organizations, concomitantly with accepting into the party the ablest working people from all areas of activity, on increasing strictness in terms of fulfillment of statutory duties by every party member: "We must conduct our activity so that the party members, those who will join the party better understand the scientific ideological position of our party, the responsibilities and duties which they assume in their capacity of consistent revolutionary fighters for the triumph of socialism and communism, for the defense, in any circumstance, of the supreme interests of the people, of the country's independence and sovereignty."

#### What Kind of Commissions on Various Problems Are Set Up in Party Organs?

Several readers requested us to print in our review an answer to the following question: what kind of commissions on various problems are set up in party organs?

According to the provisions of the RCP Statute, the local party organs and party committees in enterprises and organizations set up commissions for various problems of party work, composed of their members and other communists with appropriate political and professional experience and training. Presently, operating in party organs are the following commissions on various problems:

##### I. In County Committees

- a. Commission on party organizational problems, of mass and civic organizations
- b. Commission on problems of party and state cadres
- c. Commission on problems of party work in agriculture

##### II. In Municipal and Town Committees

- a. Commission on party organizational problems, of mass and civic organizations
- b. Commission on problems of party and state cadres

##### III. In Communal Committees

- a. Commission on party organizational problems, of mass and civic organizations
- b. Commission on problems of party and state cadres
- c. Commission on economic problems



#### IV. In Party Committees in Enterprises, Institutions, Agricultural Units

a. Commission on party and cadre organizational problems, of mass and civic organizations

b. Commission on propagandists and agitators

In addition to these commissions, attached to local party organs are councils that have the status of party and state organs; for instance:

##### I. In County, Municipal and Town Committees

a. Council of worker control over economic and social activity

b. Council of political education and socialist culture

##### II. In Communal Committees

a. Council on political education and socialist culture

##### III. In Party Committees in Enterprises and Research and Design Institutes

a. Council on worker control over socioeconomic activity

What Role Do Open Party Meetings Have, What Do They Discuss, How Often Can They Take Place?

"I would like to know if, aside from the ordinary meetings specified in the RCP Statute, also open party meetings can be held. In case the answer is affirmative, I would like to know what problems are discussed at these meetings, if there is a schedule for convening them and if it is right for these meetings to hear reports or accounts from party members."

Ion Tican

Party member of Bucharest  
150 I Mai Boulevard, Sector 1

In party work, the procedure has long been established for organizing, at certain intervals, open meetings of party branches, as one of the most effective methods for strengthening their relations with the masses and drawing non-party working people into resolving socioeconomic problems, into all the political activity that unfolds in production units, in institutions, agricultural production cooperatives, and so forth.

As a rule, invited to attend open party meetings are those non-party working people who, within the framework of the unit, by the activity which they conduct and by the offices which they hold represent a basic support of the party organization in fulfilling its tasks. Specifically, it is a matter of those comrades in trade union committees and bureaus of trade union groups, women's committees and commissions, council of working people, deputies, executive technical cadres -- who are members of ODUS [expansion unknown] -- and members of committees and bureaus of UTC, who

day by day, work side by side with communists and under their leadership for the implementation of the party policy. Of course, these are invited to the open party meetings in light of the topics on the agenda, proceeding from the consideration that they might have a significant input into the in-depth survey of the problems discussed and in devising the best approaches. Participating in the meeting they are entitled to take the floor, voice their opinion on all the problems being discussed, make suggestions, various remarks, if the case may be; however, because they are not party members, they do not have the right to vote when decisions are adopted.

The nominal list of invitees to the open party meeting is established by the bureau of the party branch and must be submitted to the approval of the general assembly.

Hence, from the above it follows that, as a rule, on the agenda of such meetings are essential matters that concern a broader circle of people, actually the entire collective of the unit. Consequently, in light of the matters under discussion the list of the invitees is set up, so that their concerns may be related to the topic discussed.

As for the intervals for holding the open party meetings, of course, there cannot be a periodicity in convening them, because, as is seen, the need for them stems from the daily life of the collective and only the bureau, the party branch are those that always assess whether or not it is necessary to organize open party meetings. Anyway, account must be taken of the fact that there is a number of problems which have an internal party character and whose resolution can be achieved only in the presence of the communists on the list of the organization. Therefore, the scheduling of open party meetings must proceed in a manner that does not prevent prompt resolution of internal party problems, specifically as it is known that, as a rule, in the month that sees an open party meetings there is no convening of another meeting with internal party character.

However, sometimes the procedure differs. If it is estimated that the agenda of an open party meeting will be completed in a shorter time, it is possible to also schedule other matters with an internal party character on which only the party members can decide. In such case, these problems are discussed only in the presence of party members.

Hence, if it is planned to hear reports from some party members, this is usually done within the internal framework of the organization, that is in closed party meetings.

If Civic Instructors Participate in General Meetings That Discuss Applications for Party Membership Is the Presence of a Member of the Municipal or Town Committee or of an Official of These Bodies Still Necessary?

"I am a candidate member of the Focsani Municipal Party Committee, Vrancea County, and its civic instructor. I am in charge of two party branches. However, sometimes I am also requested to attend general meetings of other organizations which discuss applications for party membership, because, according to directives, this must be mandatorily done also in the presence of a member of the municipal, town or communal party committee or of an official of these bodies. But civic instructors have

now been assigned to the organizations involved. Cannot their participation be considered as sufficient?"

Constantin Ghetu

In compliance with the set of political and organizational measures adopted by the Political Executive Committee of the CC of the RCP for upgrading of control over the fulfillment of decisions, development of activity on civic bases, enhancement of the ties of party organs and organizations with working people, greater intensification and rise in the efficiency of mass political and cultural-educational work, groups of civic instructors were established in municipal and town party committees. Each of them has the task of guiding and monitoring the activity of one or two party branches in enterprises, institutions, schools and neighborhoods, supervising and supporting all the political and organizational work and internal party life. As they come from the ranks of members of the local party organ, of other workers with responsible duties, of secretaries and assistant secretaries of party committees, secretaries of bureaus of party branches, and the like, they are highly conversant with the provisions of the statute, of the directives on admission to the party. Very important is the fact that, because of their duties, they are permanently present in party branches, they are aware of their concerns, needs and potentialities in terms of strengthening of their ranks, they give tangible assistance to bureaus in guiding the work for admission to the party, in efficiently preparing and conducting the general meetings which discuss the applications involved.

The civic instructor actually is an official of the municipal or town party committee. In this capacity, of course he mandatorily participates in the general meetings that discuss applications for party membership. In this situation, there is no longer the need for also the participation of a member of the municipal or town committee or of an official of these bodies.

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READERS' LETTERS CITE WEAKNESSES, OPPORTUNISM IN LCY

Zagreb DANAS in Serbo-Croatian 15 Jun 82

[15 Jun pp 43-44]

[Letter from S. P. Zagreb, in response to the article, "The Red Carnations Have Faded," published in the 1 June 1982 issue of DANAS: "Heretical Questions"]

[Text] The problem of whether anyone can say of himself that he is a Communist but not a member of the LC also bothers me, as well as many other people who are non-party members but respectable people. These are people who deserve to be called communists, even though they are not formally members of the LC nor "organized," because of their attitude, their way of thought, their conduct, and also their concrete activities in the circles in which they move. The problem is why they are not formalizing their ideological commitment and "organizing" if they are already actively committed to the LC's ideology. The answer to this question is complex, and it cannot be given unambiguously. It is really uncomfortable for many people (especially those older than 35) to write a request for admission; they think that the LC is not some "leftist" organization that one joins by request; they are waiting for someone to notice their work and activity, and for "someone" who is already "organized" to propose them for membership.

There are also other answers, but from my own knowledge I will cite one that is fairly symptomatic and is heard many times in everyday conversations. Because it is characteristic, and also because it is heretical, if you like, this deserves attention, and should be analyzed and considered. Since these views are not based on any statistical data, it is difficult to state or cite the number of those who think in this manner, but there are a lot of them, especially among those whom we usually call intellectuals. In fact, many people say: "I am a communist; I fully accept the ideology of the LC; I am attempting to put it into practice in accordance with my conscience; I am behaving in accordance with this ideology (again in accordance with my conscience); I am active in various self-management organizations, from the building council, through the local community, up to my work organization; at all meetings, I attempt to materialize the ideological orientation of the LC, not just verbally, but also through concrete actions; but nevertheless, I do not want to become a member of the LC."

Most of these people believe that the LC's ideology is the best, most just, and most progressive thing that exists in the world today, but they still do not consider the organization capable of putting such aspirations into practice. The answer that "the LC organization is not my organization" at first glance appears heretical, reactionary, and backward. When such an answer comes from people who are progressive and follow the LC's line (here I am only speaking of these, and not all the others), the adjectives heretical, reactionary, and backward should, however, not be applied lightly; instead, we should think a little, and try to figure out why these people think that way, without condemning them a priori. I know many respectable and loyal people, who in 1970 and up until just before the end of 1971, at the time of a growth of nationalist euphoria, ceased to be members of the LC, simply and quietly (without a lot of fuss), because after seeing the LC's impotence (and not knowing that it was momentary) in the struggle with the militant "mass movement," they felt that according to their consciences it was better to disassociate themselves by leaving such an organization, instead of making it seem that they were showing solidarity with such an ideology by belonging to the Croatian LC.

Without dwelling on the past, there are similar cases today as well, although they are far from being so drastic. How are we to justify to our consciences membership in the same organization together with someone whose conduct and activities are destroying the ideological orientation of the communists? There are innumerable examples, and I will only cite a few (which are well known from the daily press): the usurpation of socially owned land and social labor in agriculture (the case of Slav. Pozega), making the sale of goods in the unified (but not joint) yugoslav market conditional upon foreign exchange, economic crime among management, etc. In addition to these, there are countless examples (countless both in words and in figures) of violations of self-management rights, which are not recorded anywhere and never will be. Everyone talks about rigged competitions for jobs, blue envelopes, the everyday harassment of self-managing workers who think differently from the executive body, illegal discharges--but I should not continue to enumerate what all of us know. No one claims that such things are only done by LC members, but it is evident that those who do them have some sort of power in society, and these are for the most part various managers. Dr Kecmanovic does not cite the exact figure (he probably does not have one), but he asserts that a large majority of managers are members of the LC. The conclusion thus imposes itself. In the final analysis, it is not heresy at all to reach such a conclusion--such assertions were publicly and concretely stated at the recent republic and provincial congresses. The legendary Kosta Nadj spoke about this several times in his statements, along with many other famous revolutionaries.

Why not have an LC statute stipulate that anyone who has violated our laws, and of whom this is proven by some verdict (not only for criminal proceedings but also for economic offenses), automatically loses his LC membership? Such a measure would not purge the LC's ranks of the "dregs," but it would nevertheless help to have the most drastic cases resolved in some fashion.

If one thinks a little bit (impartially), he will have to admit that such logic is not unfounded. In the final analysis a person directs his own conscience, not the other way around.

I have already said that in thinking about these conclusions we should not be biased; we should not think in terms of black and white. I already know what the answer will be from those who do not agree with these positions. Their main argument (probably with complete justification) will probably be that people who think that way are essentially opportunists. They will say that in defining the concept, one of the essential specific differences of a communist is his combativeness and willingness to fight for his ideals and convictions, regardless of his own sacrifices.

By speaking in this way, they will send word to those non-party members who consider themselves to be communists even though they are not LC members: become a member of the LC as soon as you become aware, fight for your positions, use your activities to help have the ideological commitments of the LC carried over into everyday life, and also use your activities to help have Marko and Janko exposed and expelled from the organization to which they do not belong; do not be afraid of your own defeats, when you are fighting for progress.

This view also has a strong logical justification, and so in response to the question raised at the beginning--whether I am a communist if I am not an LC member--I have to give a conditionally negative answer, because it is certain that reluctance to fight, or better yet reluctance to fight without regard for personal losses, means opportunism. A communist cannot be an opportunist, and therefore I am not a communist.

It is possible that many people who think like me will receive an answer to their questions at the 12th LCY Congress--not explicitly, I think, but indirectly. The most effective answer will be action, and a very concrete action, by purging the LC of the "dregs." Finally, this action is least of all necessary to resolve the dilemmas of myself and those like me; it is primarily necessary to bring to life our basic tenets, for the sake of socialist self-managing society in Yugoslavia.

I deliberately used "for the sake of" instead of "on behalf of," because I realize that we have only begun to build such a society and that we are still far from our proclaimed goal. In regard to this, I have in mind the following: in Yugoslavia, the working class has the power (according to the Constitution, the ZUR [Law on Associated Labor], and all of our commitments). The statement that the working class has the power is surely demagogical, unless one immediately raises the question of whether our working class is really capable of exercising that power without the ideological leadership of conscious subjective forces (i.e., the communists). Certainly this power of the working class will not be any more than a utopia, at least at this stage of our social development, unless the Communists (let us capitalist this) perform the task that corresponds to them in our system. The "dregs" will only create major obstacles, and finally even discredit honest attempts

by real communists. Not only the LC, but the entire society as well, suffers from the "dregs."

Finally, this reflection would not be complete if I did not add one more question. If I have already established for myself and for those like me that we are not communists because we are essentially opportunists, are those who are LC members, but who are opportunists like myself, real communists or not?

The answer should be clear to everyone.

[22 Jun 82 p 48]

[Letter from Prof Dusko Zurovac of Mostar: "Spiritual Emigres"]

[Text] Let us take our hats off to Ilija Kecmanovic and the weekly DANAS, for the analytical article that appeared under the title of "The Red Carnations Have Faded." Kecmanovic raised a real question, which reads as follows: "On one hand, why have careerists, speculators, and other such elements had an interest in joining the party, and on the other hand, why has the party shown itself to be willing first to receive them and then to keep them within its ranks?"

Naturally, this is a very complex question, and requires a comprehensive and analytical answer. In spite of this, nothing needs to be added to Kecmanovic's article. All of these positions can be confirmed by examples from life and from every area. For a long time now some of our political leaders have addressed meetings of communists with the words "Communists and members of the LC." In his article, Kecmanovic singled out three groups: communists, members, and the dregs. Membership in the LCY is often used as a stepping-stone, and is identified with political suitability, while the red membership booklet is used as an entry into the society of those who have been selected and validated, because it frequently also means a better job and a profession, although usually not more knowledge, and it also means a considerably more secure material base and often even wealth: a villa, a car, a boat, a horse farm, and so forth. It thus creates a separate stratum of rich people who have their own view of the world; it was one of these who chased my children away from his beach in Neum last summer, and it is no secret who owns most of the villas in Neum.

Recently there have been increasingly more frequent appearances before the courts by people who until yesterday were politically reliable, and who used this political reliability of theirs to acquire a profession, and through this profession, the wealth that led them into crime. It is unnecessary to enumerate these. Those who had not been validated were not so easily entrusted with societal property and were thus protected from the modern scramble after money.

Comrade Tito cited the case of one commune party secretary who told one of his fellow citizens, "I am your Tito and your God here." This was one of

those people who have gradually climbed to the highest party rank, simply telling a respectable person and a valued worker, "What are you talking about, you should be quiet, you are not a member of the LCY." I have heard this sentence spoken by such dregs many times. If it happens that a person opposes someone like this, and points out his errors, then it is all reduced to how however criticized him has rebelled against the system and against the basis of socialist morality. Even today such people have inflicted a great deal of harm on the party and serve as its worst advertisement. People are inclined to generalize and to see official positions through the positions of such individuals. No one has dared to point out the errors of such people, because they usually retaliate.

In addition to the categories that Dr Kecmanovic cited (communists, members, and dregs), it seems that we should single out a separate group and call them the spiritual emigres. These are the people who have paid their membership dues regularly and are still paying them, remained to one side regularly (silence is golden), and regularly tied themselves emotionally to some positions in the West or the East. For these people, even the rubbish from their spiritual homelands is wealth and beauty. Behind our backs they criticize everything Yugoslav, and praise their spiritual homelands at every opportunity.

Finally, let us say that these articles mean a great deal for the party, because I hope that those who are not worthy of carrying the red booklets will realize that they have no place among communists.

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